

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE IMMEDIATE 4063

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 14645

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR JA CH UR

SUBJ: KISSINGER VISIT PAPER: TOKYO, PEKING, AND MOSCOW--II

REF: TOKYO 9531

SUMMARY. THOUGH THE JAPANESE REMAIN INTERESTED IN BALANCING THEIR RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW AND PEKING, CONTRASTING ATTITUDES AND ACTIONS BY THE BIG COMMUNIST POWERS DURING THE LAST THREE MONTHS HAVE MOVED JAPAN CLOSER TO THE PRC. THE HEGEMONY HASSLE REMAINS UNSOLVED, BUT THE WAY THE CHINESE HANDLED THE ISSUE WITH THE JAPANESE HAS NOT HARMED THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PEKING AND TOKYO. BY CONTRAST, WHILE SOVIET PRESSURE TACTICS TO PREVENT TOKYO FROM MAKING CONCESSIONS TO PEKING HAVE HAD SOME INFLUENCE, THEY HAVE FURTHER COOLED THE
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ATMOSPHERE OF SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS. BY KEEPING BI-

LATERAL RELATIONS SEPARATE FROM BOTH THE HEGEMONY ISSUE AND POTENTIALLY CONTENTIOUS QUESTIONS LIKE TOKYO'S RESTORATION OF CIVIL AIR LINKS WITH TAIPEI, THE PRC HAS PERMITTED PROGRESS ON TECHNICAL AGREEMENTS LIKE FISHERIES, NEW CONSULATES GENERAL, AND STUDENT EXCHANGES. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE SOVIETS APPEAR TO HAVE HARDENED THEIR POSITION ON THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES CAUSING THE JAPANESE TO QUESTION THE VALIDITY OF SOVIET PLEDGES THEY BELIEVE WERE MADE BY BREZHNEV IN 1973 END SUMMARY.

1. THE HEGEMONY ISSUE. DURING THE SUMMER, PRIME MINISTER MIKI MADE A NUMBER OF STATEMENTS TO THE PRESS AND THE DIET WHICH SUGGESTED THAT HE WAS READY TO PERMIT INCLUSION OF A CLAUSE OPPOSING HEGEMONY INTO THE BODY OF THE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH PEKING, AS LONG AS THE TERM HEGEMONY WAS DEFINED IN INNOCUOUS TERMS AS A "GENERAL PEACE PRINCIPLE." ALARMED THAT THE JAPANESE WERE GETTING READY TO MAKE CONCESSIONS TO CHINESE, MOSCOW SENT AMBASSADOR TROYANOVSKY IN TO SEE FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA SEPTEMBER 17 AND IMPLY STRONGLY THAT FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO WOULD NOT VISIT TOKYO IN 1975 AS PROMISED IF THE JAPANESE SIGNED A PFT ON CHINESE TERMS. MIYAZAWA REPLIED IN EFFECT THAT JAPAN WOULD DO NOTHING TO THREATEN SOVIETS, BUT CONCLUSION OF THE PFT COULD NOT IN ANY CASE BE AIMED AT MOSCOW. THE IMPRESSION GIVEN BY THIS EXCHANGE WAS THAT MIYAZAWA HAD SIDE-STEPPED AN OBVIOUS TROYANOVSKY ATTEMPT TO LIMIT HIS ROOM FOR MANEUVER DURING IMPORTANT UPCOMING CONVERSATIONS WITH CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN-HUA AT NEW YORK. MIYAZAWA APPEARED FREE TO MOVE TOWARD THE CHINESE POSITION SHOULD THE PRC SHOW SIGNS OF FLEXIBILITY THAT MIGHT PERMIT JAPAN TO SAVE SOME FACE. IN FACT, THE TROYANOVSKY CALL PROBABLY REINFORCED THE CAUTION WITH WHICH MIYAZAWA IS INCLINED TO TREAT THE ISSUE.

2. TEN HOURS OF MEETINGS IN NEW YORK ON SEPTEMBER 25 AND 27 BETWEEN CHIAO AND MIYAZAWA PRODUCED NO IMMEDIATE SOLUTION TO THE HEGEMONY PROBLEM. CHIAO INSISTED THAT BOTH CHINA AND JAPAN HAD AGREED TO OPPOSE HEGEMONY IN THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF 1972, THAT THE MEANING OF THE TERM WAS UNDERSTOOD "WORLDWIDE," AND THAT THERE WAS NO REASON WHY BOTH PEKING AND TOKYO SHOULD APPEND ADDITIONAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE TERM TO THE PFT. AT THE SAME TIME, HE INDICATED THAT

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CHINA WOULD NOT OPPOSE A UNILATERAL STATEMENT BY TOKYO IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE CONCLUSION OF A TREATY, THUS LEAVING THE DOOR OPEN FOR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS. HE ALSO TOLD MIYAZAWA THAT INCLUSION OF THE HEGEMONY CLAUSE WOULD NOT REQUIRE ANY FUTURE ACTION BY JAPAN AND WOULD NOT BE USED BY PEKING TO EMBROIL TOKYO IN AN ANTI-SOVIET CAMPAIGN.

3. FOR HIS PART, MIYAZAWA MOVED CLOSER TO THE CHINESE BY

ACCEPTING, AT LEAST CONDITIONALLY, THAT A CLAUSE OPPOSING HEGEMONY COULD BE INCLUDED IN THE OPERATIVE PART OF THE TREATY. BOTH SIDES PARTED AGREEING THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA WERE DEVELOPING SATISFACTORILY, AND THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO WAIT RATHER THAN FORCE A COMPROMISE ON PRINCIPLE THAT COULD HARM GOOD RELATIONS.

4. THE MIYAZAWA-CHIAO TALKS LEFT THE NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT WHERE TOKYO WANTED THEM -- ALIVE, BUT NOT MOVING VERY FAST. WHILE PRIME MINISTER MIKI WOULD LIKE A PFT WITH PEKING, DOMESTIC POLITICAL PRIORITIES MAKE IT NECESSARY TO POSTPONE CONSIDERATION OF ANY CONTROVERSIAL FOREIGN POLICY ISSUE FOR THE TIME BEING.

5. THE CHINESE DID NOT PROVE VERY FLEXIBLE, BUT THE JAPANESE WERE ENCOURAGED BY THE CARE WITH WHICH PEKING APPROACHED THE PROBLEM. THE TEN HOURS OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN CHIAO AND MIYAZAWA REPRESENTED THE LONGEST AND MOST PENETRATING EXCHANGE OF VIEWS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE PRC SINCE RELATIONS WERE NORMALIZED IN 1972. THEY CONTRASTED MARKEDLY WITH THE STERILE AND RATHER SOUR HALF-HOUR THAT GROMYKO SPENT WITH MIYAZAWA ON SEPTEMBER 25.

6. BILATERAL RELATIONS. THE JAPANESE HAVE BEEN ANXIOUS THAT THE HEGEMONY CLAUSE NOT STAND IN THE WAY OF IMPROVING BILATERAL TIES, AND THE CHINESE APPARENTLY AGREE. IN ADDITION, PEKING HAS BEEN WILLING SO FAR TO IGNORE THE RESTORATION OF AIR LINKS BETWEEN TAIPEI AND TOKYO AS A POSSIBLE IMPEDIMENT TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF DAY-TO-DAY WORKING RELATIONS. THE LONG NEGOTIATED FISHERIES AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED IN AUGUST. ON AUGUST 15 REPRESENTATIVES OF BOTH GOVERNMENTS SIGNED AN AGREEMENT PERMITTING ESTABLISHMENT OF CONSULATES GENERAL IN OSAKA AND SHANGHAI, MAKING THE JAPANESE ONE OF A TINY HANDFUL OF COUNTRIES
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PERMITTED AN OFFICE OUTSIDE PEKING. UNEXPECTEDLY, PEKING PLACED A LONG-DETAILED STUDENT EXCHANGE NEGOTIATION BACK ON THE TRACKS, AND THAT AGREEMENT WAS MADE ALSO IN MID-AUGUST. TRADE RELATIONS CONTINUE TO FLOURISH, WITH PROJECTIONS FOR A \$4 BILLION TWO WAY VOLUME REMAINING FIRM.

7. BY CONTRAST, THE SOVIET STAND ON THE MAJOR BILATERAL POLITICAL ISSUE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS -- THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES -- APPEARS TO HAVE HARDENED. FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO'S ARTICLE IN THE SEPTEMBER ISSUE OF KOMMUNIST DENOUNCED FORCES IN JAPAN WHO RAISE "BASELESS CLAIMS TO THE SO CALLED 'NORTHERN TERRITORIES'" AND PROMISED THAT "SUCH CLAIMS WILL ALWAYS RECEIVE A FIRM REBUFF FROM OUR SIDE." THE JAPANESE HAVE REACTED WITH AMAZEMENT AND DISMAY, INTERPRETING GROMYKO'S REMARKS AS EVIDENCE THAT THE SOVIETS ARE WELSHING ON 1973

PLEDGES THAT THEY BELIEVE BREZHNEV MADE IN MOSCOW TO THEN PRIM
MINISTER TANAKA AT LEAST TO CONSIDER THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES A
STANDING TOPIC OF NEGOTIATION. THE FOREIGN OFFICE IS UPSET OVER A
BLATANT SOVIET VIOLATION OF JAPANESE AIRSPACE ON SEPTEMBER 24,
REGARDING THIS AND THE KOMMUNIST ARTICLE AS EVIDENCE OF A SOVIET
"CAMPAIGN" TO "FREEZE" THE TERRITORIAL ISSUE. THE JAPANESE
POSITION ON THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES REMAINS UNCHANGED,
DESPITE THE APPEARANCE OF AN ARTICLE IN THE OCTOBER ISSUE OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS BY MIKI CONFIDENT KAZUSHIGE HIRASAWA PROPOSING
THAT JAPAN COMPROMISE WITH THE SOVIETS.

8. THOUGH TRADE CONTINUES AT LEVELS ABOVE LAST YEAR'S
US\$ 2 BILLION, JOINT EFFORTS AT EXPLOITATION OF SIBERIAN
RESOURCES ARE MOVING VERY SLOWLY. IN FACT, THE TWO SIDES
FAILED TO INITIATE EXPLORATION OF THE SAKHALIN SHELF AS PLANNED
THIS YEAR DUE TO TECHNICAL PROBLEMS.
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